

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 75.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 24TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE ELECTORS OF BIRMINGHAM.

Cotteridge Farm, King's Norton,
March 20, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

I INSERT, below, an address of Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, in which he offers himself to you as a member to represent you in Parliament; and, under the present circumstances of the country, I should think it an instance of great baseness in me not to say thus openly, that I think him eminently calculated to serve you in that capacity. Of his devotion to the good of the country, we have a decided proof in the well-known fact, that he was one of the *victims* to the cause of reform, in 1819. The enemies of the people know well who are the people's best friends; and they have known how to handle them accordingly. This *alone*, however, would not be a sufficient recommendation; this *alone* would by no means amount to a *proof* of a man's fitness for the trust; for, a man may *change*; he, though *acting rightly* for awhile, may *never have had a good motive*; he, possessing by nature all the vulgarity of rural life, joined to all the stupid pride of the foolish part of the aristocracy, may have squandered away the savings of a father's life; may have spent, in the indulgence of his upstart vanity, the fortunes of himself, his brothers and sisters, and even of his children; and, unable to get his wife to give up hers, he may have abandoned her and taken up with another: he may,

thus reduced to real insolvency, have turned *patriot*, having first been cast off by those amongst whom he had spent his money; he may have become *a tool in the hands of the people's foes*; he, when pressed by want, arising from his own laziness and vanity, may *sell himself* to the haters of reform, and may, in fact, depend on them for food and raiment; he may, by BRAZEN LIES about RE-ACTIONS, encourage the haters of reform to oppose it, relying, on the one hand, on the *chances of a scramble*, or, that failing, on the *keep* of the successful opposers; he may be a BRAINLESS FOOL, so illiterate, of such beastly vulgarity, so notorious a LIAR, that even *truths* come blasted from his tongue; he may *under a head as grey as a rat*, present to you the *fooleries of childhood* duly co-mixed with *malignity*, which it has required half a century to mature; he may be the most *bragging bully*, and at the same time a *coward* so consummate and so often chastised, as to know, by the feel, a stick of *ash* from one of *hazle*, or, like the hero in Hudibras, a shoe sole of *neat's leather* from one of *boar's skin*.

In Mr. EDMONDS, you will know, from the evidence of your own experience, that you have precisely the contrary of this loathsome picture, in the drawing of which I claim not the merit of *originality*. Always steady as a rock to the principles with which he started; always possessing the only *real* independence, namely, that which arises from a man's own industry; having great capacity for efficient and most useful exertion both with pen and tongue; being in the prime of life; having too sound a judgment not to see, that he must blast his name for ever by yielding to any of the allurements which power has in store; being, in short, industrious, able, frank, courageous, not greedy of gain, and having in his own talents and pursuits a security against penury; being, besides, a native of your important town,

and well understanding all its great affairs and all its various interests; and, though last not least, being of temper and of manners calculated to conciliate even those who may be opposed to him: in Mr. EDMONDS you have these qualities and this character; and, in any man, what *more* can you want to have?

"A man of property" will answer the thoughtless and the selfish. And what do you want "a man of property" FOR? What FOR do you want such a man to defend the rights and promote the interests of the *industrious classes*? The first thing that "a man of property" thinks of, is, to keep himself *as much above* the middle and working classes as he now is: the next thing, is, to raise himself *as much further above them* as he can: these objects will not, be you well assured, get out of his view by his going into the House of Commons: they will always (unless he be a rare man indeed, and *one such rare man* Birmingham has, I believe, the honour to possess,) be *his very first objects*. If it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, I am sure it is still easier for that animal thus to pass, than for a rich man to enter the House of Commons without acting for the benefit of the rich, rather than for that of the poor.

"Experience," they say, "makes even fools wise." And what does experience tell us upon this subject? We want a *reform* only because *rich men*, and the *nominees of rich men*, have brought millions of us to the verge of starvation. And are we to be *rescued from this state by rich men*? Do we seek a *remedy* in the very thing which has been the *cause of our disease*? Besides, what has been the conduct of the *rich "reformers"* in Parliament? Oh! what a *victory* it was to elect Mr. PAGET, the rich banker and *reformer*, for Leicestershire, and ousting the member of the Duke of Rutland! What a *victory* to elect the rich *reformer*, Mr. DENISON, for Nottinghamshire! What a *victory* to beat the Duke again, in Cambridge-shire, by electing the rich *reformer*, Mr. ADEANE! Mr. STRUT, the *rich re-*

former of Derby, and a score of others might be added; but has any one of them shown the smallest disposition to take one single ounce from *those burdens* which are pressing the industrious millions to the earth, and to get rid of which is the object, and the only *rational* object, that we have in view in seeking a reform of the Parliament? Has any one of them objected to that *pension-list*, that *sinecure*, *grant*, *retired-allowance*, and *dead-weight list*, which contains the names of the *rich whom the poor are compelled to support*? Has any one of them ever objected to the annual payment to HANOVERIAN and other *foreign half-pay officers*, to whom have been sent nearly, or quite, TWO MILLIONS OF ENGLISH TAXES since the peace, though the half-pay is deemed a *retaining fee for future services*, and though *the law forbids those men to be employed in our service*? Has any one of them ever complained of this flagrant waste of the people's money? Has any one of them ever made an attempt to repeal STURGES BOURNE's hated bill? In short, has any one man of them discovered the smallest degree of feeling for the industrious classes? Never, and never will they: it is not in nature that they ever should. And, therefore, if these great towns be weak enough, or, rather, base enough, to prefer *rich men* to represent them, they will soon find that they have forged chains for themselves and for all the rest of the country.

If we wish for an instance, which shall, in one single man, give us proof complete of the soundness of my reasoning here, have we not BURDETT? Have we not this fellow, with *twenty thousand acres of land*, and with, probably, *two hundred thousand pounds in the funds*? This one is *rich enough*, at any rate; this is "a man of property" enough to satisfy the very basest of all mankind. And what has he done? Why, after having for years deluded the people, by his bawlings against "THE GREAT FAMILIES," and for the "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*," we see him now actually endeavouring to stifle the POLITICAL

UNIONS; while from his lips never comes there one word against any of those votes of money which are the cause of our ruin and our suffering. We see him pelted from the hustings with turnips and cabbages by his oppressed constituents, after having seen him pledge himself to support CANNING, at the very moment when that impudent tax-eater was declaring, *that he would oppose reform to the end of his life!*

Here, then, we have a proof of the inefficacy of riches to secure to us good representatives. BURDETT's conduct has arisen from his riches. Had he been poorer he might have acted a better part: he has too much, and is too fond of it, to suffer him to wish to see the power of riches diminished. Thus, it is a great mistake to suppose, that *riches* and *independence* mean the same thing, or that the latter is the effect of the former. The man *really* independent, is he who feels that he has *within himself* the means of providing for all his *real* wants, and whose life has been, and whose character is, such as to curse him with no *imaginary* wants. *That* is the only truly *independent* man; and such a man you see in your indefatigably industrious townsman, Mr. EDMONDS. If, indeed, he were a great hulky beast, whose shoulder-of-mutton fists were made for the plough-handles, and whose broad back was fashioned to a hod or a knot, but whose laziness had never suffered him to earn one single penny since he was born, and whose vanity and brass united, made him think himself entitled to live, in some way or other, *upon the labour of others*: then, indeed, you might inquire, and you ought to inquire, into the amount of *his property*. If he presented to you the *beau-ideal* of a sturdy beggar, having his bulky, ill-formed carcass carried about the country, passed along from town to town, by the means of *subscriptions* wheedled out of the pockets of the thoughtless; then, indeed, you might reasonably inquire how he could ever be *independent*; and, in fact, it would be the duty of the magistrates of Birmingham to take him up, and make him give an account of *how he got his*

living, he having no visible means of honest livelihood. But, in the talents, the rare industry, the self-dependent powers of Mr. EDMONDS, you have a better security for independent conduct, than you could have in all the riches of the richest man in the land.

Mr. TENNYSON is talked of as a member for BIRMINGHAM; and who and what is Mr. TENNYSON? He has lately been in *public pay*, and has quitted it on account, he says, of *ill-health*. This was the *true* ground, or it was a *false* one. In either case here would be enough for Mr. TENNYSON; for you want both *health* and *honesty*! But there is another objection to Mr. TENNYSON; namely, that he is in Parliament *now*, and has been there *for several years*; and that he has never made an effort to *take away the pension list*; never opposed the *yearly grant to Hanoverian and other foreign officers*; never objected to the *grants to the clergy out of the taxes*; never objected to the *military and naval academies*; never protested against military and naval half-pay given to *rectors and vicars of the church*; never attempted to cause any of those changes which are absolutely necessary. And *why* should you suppose that he would *change* his course of conduct? He is a *tried* man; he has been tried and found wanting. You know what he *has been*; and therefore, if you were to choose him, you would *stamp his past conduct with your approbation*; and that would amount to a declaration on your part, that you *were content with the squanderings*, and that you wished them to *continue*; or, in other words, that the people of Birmingham do not feel themselves oppressed by the taxes and rates and the Corn Bill, and that they want a *reform* merely for the sake of *the name*! To those who propose Mr. TENNYSON to you, put these questions. Will he *distinctly pledge himself*,

1. To move or support a motion for the abolition of tithes in England?
2. To move or support a motion for the repeal of the malt and hop tax?
3. To move or support a motion for the repeal of the Corn Bill?

4. To move or support a motion for the sweeping away of the pension, grant, allowance, sinecure, and dead-weight lists, with the few exceptions which strict justice would call for?

If they do not answer in *the negative* for him, he will do it himself. Upon what ground then, with what decency, with what *honesty*, is any man of this town to propose to you to elect Mr. TENNYSON, while another man is ready to give these pledges?

Gentlemen, I am aware that I may have taken a liberty too great in thus appearing to think it necessary to address you on a subject, on which I know you, and the whole nation knows you, to be such *competent judges*; but I trust that my anxiety that your example might be such as to direct in the right path all the other towns, and all the counties in the kingdom, will be my apology.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble and
most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MR. EDMONDS'S ADDRESS.

"To the Inhabitants of Birmingham,
"and its vicinity.

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

"You will, in all probability, be soon
"called upon to exercise the important
"privilege of electing two members of
"Parliament. Efforts are now making
"to induce you unawares to pledge
"yourselves to vote for gentlemen,
"STRANGERS TO THIS TOWN; whose
"chief recommendation is their *wealth*
"and *station*; who are comparatively
"unknown to you; and whose principles
"are not of that decided character
"which is indispensable in your representatives. Under these circumstances,
"I venture respectfully to pray, that
"you will reserve your pledges till you
"have before you all the candidates for
"your choice. Members of Parliament
"are not to be chosen in mere compliance to wealth and rank. Votes are a
"trust, a solemn trust, created and con-

ferred for the general benefit of the
"nation, and in particular for the protection of those multitudes who are
"not included in the provisions of the
"Reform Bill.

"The enlightened inhabitants of Birmingham and its vicinity will be
"guided in their choice of representatives by EXPERIENCE; they will require something besides wealth and
"rank, or even that regard for the constitutional liberties of the country
"which CONVENIENTLY discovers itself
"at the 'eleventh hour,' just when the
"cause of reform is about to triumph;
"but which existed without ENERGY,
"without ENTHUSIASM, without DEVOTION, when that cause demanded the
"aid of every patriot; and when its
"advocates were subjected to every
"species of OPPRESSION, PERSECUTION,
"and CRUELTY.

"Aware of the serious circumstances
"of the country, you will require that the
"men of your choice should have the
"capacity to take an efficient and determined course in the settlement of those
"IMMENSE QUESTIONS, CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL, which a Reformed Parliament MUST presently entertain; and,
"in the discussion of which, courage,
"decision of character, perseverance,
"and benevolence, of the highest order,
"are necessary; and without which, a
"mere GENTLEMAN would be tossed
"about like a FEATHER upon the ocean
"of Parliamentary Debate.

"With the firm conviction that I
"possess many of these essential qualities, and that I feel the awful responsibility under which a representative
"discharges his duty; it is my UNALTERABLE purpose to offer myself for
"the representation of this town and
"its neighbourhood. This step has received the sanction of all classes, and
"of several of the MASTER MINDS of
"the day; so that my return is scarcely
"PROBLEMATICAL—I believe it to be
"CERTAIN. I found my hopes of support, not certainly on my being a
"RICH MAN, but on my having, for
"many years, steadily and perseveringly advocated the cause of reform,
"and opposed RELIGIOUS and CIVIL

"oppressions and impositions of every
"description—and on my having done
"so, with all the faculties of my head,
"and all the energies of my heart.

"I have the honour to be,

"Fellow Countrymen,

"Your most obedient

"and devoted servant,

"GEORGE EDMONDS."

"St. Mary's Square,
19th March, 1832."

A LETTER

TO

MR. GEORGE WOODWARD, NEW YORK:

*On Corn, Hogs, Mangel-Wurzel Beer,
Cholera Morbus, Fast-day, Tithes,
Emigration, and Peter Thimble.*

*Cotteridge-Farm, near Birmingham,
16th March, 1832.*

MY DEAR SIR,

FIRST to business, and then a little dish of politics; but, first of all, as to the *date* of this letter. This farm is about five miles from Birmingham, and is in *Worcestershire*, which I believe is your native county; of which, I do assure you, I think the more highly, on your and your family's account.

Now then for another favour to beg of you: on the 21st of December last I caused twenty quarters of corn to be bought for me at Liverpool, to be sent coastwise to London, and in about a week I was told by my correspondent, that it was bought *and shipped*. Now, mind, this was *before the 1st of January*. Well, I have just got a letter from London with these words in it, "We have *yet heard nothing* of the Liverpool corn!" It is useless to storm, especially against wretches so torpid as the mariners of Liverpool. What a set of sailors! No wonder that JONATHAN beats them at sailing; no wonder that an English ship cannot sail so *cheap* as an American ship! I deserve this, however; for I have been served in the like way *twice before*; and even when I was giving the order for this corn I hesitated, observing, that perhaps the *shortest* way was to *write to New York* for the corn. Nay, if any Liverpooler will bet me

three sovereigns to one, I will bet that this letter brings me the corn from New York to London before the above-mentioned shipment of corn will arrive from Liverpool, though bought, paid for, and shipped before the first of January!

I request you to send me *in common flour barrels*, forty quarters, or 340 bushels, of the best *yellow corn*, the very best that you can purchase; and ship it as soon as you can to me at London, and by a *Yankee* ship: for God's sake keep clear of the *Liverpool navigation*! I want the corn for my horses and pigs, but also to make puddings, bread, and other things for the table. Therefore, get it quite *fresh* and *sweet*, and send it in barrels by all means. Perhaps it ought to be got in the *ear*, and shelled for the purpose. Mr. Tredwell will tell you about this; and he will help you to choose the sample. The great fault of all the foreign corn is, that it has generally been *heated*, more or less, in the ship; and that makes it *musty*. Putting it in barrels, and in April too, will prevent this; and I beg you to get the very best *yellow corn*, that has not a rotten grain in it. After this year I shall not want foreign corn at all; and in another year or two, there will be no importation of it. The white corn is more *steely* than the yellow; and, therefore, I wish to have the yellow. The farm, at which I now am, will have two statute acres of corn this year; and I will bet any man ten sovereigns that they will yield thirty quarters, or 240 bushels of shelled corn.

Draw upon me for the amount of the corn at sixty days sight, or at thirty days if you like. Pray, as soon as you get this, write to me about THE WOOD; tell me what you have done about it. It will be soon enough for me to have it next winter. Avoid "Via Liverpool" as you would avoid all that is slow and ruinous in maritime operations. If you had to do with these people, you would go mad.

I left home on the 17th of December and have been preaching politics in all the great towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire: I am now come hither; and shall go to that *Dudley* of which you



used to talk so much. We are all in a state of complete uncertainty as to the passing of the *Reform Bill*; but we are sure of having a *reform*; and I do hope that I shall yet see you all in England. Remember me in the kindest terms to Mr. Tredwell, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Harris, and to all other of my friends that you know, and to every member of your own excellent family. Above all things, remind Charles and Thomas of our two days laughing, at Grasshopper Lodge, when we got Peel's Bill and the report and Ricardo's evidence! Tell them to remember that I then said: "Now, I'll go home; for the tiger has drawn his own teeth."

I send you this order for corn in *print*, to *save postage*; for I pay as little as I possibly can towards the feeding and clothing of "*Lady Juliana Hobhouse*" and the like. I pay as little as possible in this way. I never use any liquor that pays a tax in any shape that I can see. The *malt-tax* is, however, my master as yet; for *servants* will not drink water, and they ought not to do it; and you cannot always have milk for them. However, I think, that I shall be able to match my Lady Juliana here. Before I left home I caused a barrel of *mangel-wurzel beer* to be brewed. I once tasted some very good at EYE, in Suffolk; and the other day (2nd March), I tasted some very good at Mr. STICKNEY'S, at Ridgemont, in the Holderness country, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Now, if I find *my barrel* as good as that, I shall, at Lady-day, make a bargain with four Chopsticks, three men and a boy, to serve me for a year, at such and such wages, to be boarded and lodged of course, and to have no drink but *mangel-wurzel beer*. The maids shall be upon the same terms; and thus I shall chouse my Lady out of about thirty pounds a-year! Now, mark how this will *work*. In consequence of my withholding this sum from my Lord ALTHORP'S "*charity*"-box, I shall be able to give my servants *higher wages*. We shall share in the effect of the subtraction: I shall have more money to apply to other purposes; and they will have more to buy clothes with, or to save

against their day of marriage. When I get home, and have tasted the beer, I will give my readers a full account of it, and of *the manner of making it*. We know that *sugar* will make beer; and we know that *mangel-wurzel* will make *sugar*. It remains to be seen what *the cost* of making beer will be in the latter case. I suppose not more than a sixth part of the cost of *malt-beer*. Mr. BRIDGE, of Holford, says, that he made a *pint* of ardent spirits from a *gallon* of *mangel-wurzel* juice; and I see no reason why *very strong beer* should not be made of that juice. Let me get some *good ale* from it, and deposit a hundred bottles of it at my shop to be distributed; and send half a dozen to a clever friend in each country; and my Lady Juliana will, if her name be still on the "*charity*"-list, have to look sharply about her for her allowance. My opinion is, that *farmers* may all make their own *sugar*, as well as their own beer! I have no doubt about the matter. But I will *try it all before the end of May*, and make the result known to my readers. It is, perhaps, not possible to make *sugar for sale* with a *profit*; because that implies the purchase of the root, the conveyance of it, and the inconvenience of disposing of the pulp when the juice is out, besides buildings and labour *for the purpose*. Whereas the farmer *grows the root*, has it *on the spot*, has the brewhouse, and all the implements; has the servants without any cost on this account; has the cattle to eat the pulp, and hogs to eat the wash; I will try the whole thing thoroughly, and will give an account of the result. You will get this Register before the end of April, and I shall expect my corn in *June*. By-the-by, it was I who *introduced the mangel-wurzel into the United States*, and also the *Swedish turnip*, as a field-crop, and as food for cattie; and also the fine Sussex hogs. Apropos of hogs: at Nottingham, the other day, I bought, in the market, a ham that weighed 70 (seventy) pounds, avoirdupois! The hog weighed, when dead and dressed, forty-five score and two pounds, or 902 pounds; which is the weight of a good, large, fat De-

ronshire ox, and about the average weight of *two Scotch oxen*. To attain to these weights the oxen must be *four or five years old*; and this hog was but *three*. This hog was bred by Mr. FILLINGHAM, of Soyston-hall, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, and was fatted by Mr. Michael Fisher, Penny-foot Style, near Nottingham. Great praise is due to Mr. Fillingham: anybody can give a hog food to fat him; but how few will take the pains and have the patience to rear the frame! This hog was worth *6d.* a pound (and the lard, about seventy pounds, perhaps was worth *10d.* a pound), all through, *22l. 11s. 6d.*: and almost any large farmer might, if he would, have a hundred of such hogs to kill every year, each hog having cost him not more than *seven* pounds at the outside. But to do this requires *fore-sight as to food*; and it requires that care and that patient attention which are wholly incompatible with the decanter and late hours: he who would have a stock like this must go to bed with the lark, and with the lark he must rise. This sort of farming implies that scores of tons of mangel-wurzel and Swedish turnips are at hand, even in May; and that heavy crops of lucern, cabbages, and corn-tops, are at hand throughout the summer; and to have these, implies attention and well-applied labour; and not a parcel of grass-land, which is left to produce what it pleases, and in which the animals are left to cut their own victuals, to swallow it, wet or dry, and to digest it as they can. I know many a farm of 200 acres which does not produce so much as I could cause to be produced upon twenty acres of the same farm! Once more, send the corn as quickly as you can. I want it in part to rear some pigs, which I shall make to weigh fifty score each, if I can.

Do not be frightened about the *cholera morbus*: it is a lie altogether; but it has served for a pretence for the passing of a law which would put to shame the legislative invention even of the Algerines. However, "out of evil comes good;" and out of this *cholera-morbus* lie comes the driving of

the tax and tithe-eaters out of the WEN. I wish the devils had a good sweating *fall-fever* of America; that would put an end to their "*vested insolence!*" What monsters these are, too: they complain of a surplus population: they have all manner of schemes for getting the people out of the country, and making their number less; and yet they would subject us all to the basest slavery, in order to prevent us from dying! One would have thought that they would have hailed this disease as a great blessing; but there is in their conduct *every thing* characteristic of supreme folly. However, again I say, good is coming out of evil: fear of catching the disease has induced the tax and tithe-eaters to give up something to those whom taxes and tithes have brought to the verge of starvation. It has been and is driving great numbers of the devouring cormorants from the WEN; it is thinning the gaming-houses, the stews, and the assemblages of pickpockets, who, when dispersed in the country, will not so easily find shelter from the hand of justice. It is driving the parsons away out of the Wen; and it is the only thing, but an abolition of the tithes, that will ever drive them to their livings; still, it sends them away from this hellish Wen. They are lads that will *devour* wherever they be; and it is better for them to devour anywhere but in the WEN. In short, this disease has done, and will do, a great deal of good. Even the "*FAST,*" which we are going to keep on Wednesday next, will do a great deal of good; and, if you doubt of this, read the following circular letter of the Bishop of London to his clergy, and read it, I beseech you, with all possible gravity of countenance. While you are reading it, look as pious as if you had the *toothach*.

London House, Feb. 28, 1832.

REVEREND SIR,—A day having been appointed for a general and public act of humiliation before God, with an especial reference to the new and grievous disease with which he has been pleased to visit this kingdom, there is good reason to hope that it will be observed with *more than usual solemnity*, under a deep sense not only of our present danger, but of the sins which have deserved,

if they have not called down, this infliction of the Divine pleasure. The disease which is now making progress in this metropolis is, as you are no doubt aware, most malignant and fatal in the *poorest and most distressed districts*. Want of *sufficient food, clothing, and warmth*, appears to be, next to intemperance, the chief predisposing cause of its attacks. Under these circumstances, it seems to be particularly required of us that we should *sanctify our fast*, not only by bringing before the Lord contrite and penitent hearts, and a spirit of supplication, but in the way which he has declared to be most pleasing to himself, by an *increased measure of charity to our poorer brethren*; "dealing out our bread to the hungry, and bringing the poor that are afflicted to our house."—Isaiah lviii. 7. I have, therefore, earnestly to recommend that you should cause a *collection to be made in your church or chapel*, after the sermon on the day appointed for the general fast, and that you should remit the proceeds thereof, or such part as may not be required for the necessities of your own parish, to the general fund which will probably be raised for the relief of the more distressed districts of the metropolis. That you may be strengthened by the HOLY SPIRIT to the faithful discharge of your important duties in this season of fear and trial is the earnest prayer of your affectionate brother in CHRIST,

C. J. LONDON.

There, now! think of that, Master Woodward! We have had fasts enough before; but never had we fasts, until now, accompanied with such earnest exhortations, on the part of the bishops, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked! Do pray look at this whole thing; and then remember the dreadful denunciations that used to thunder from the pulpit, the horrible anathemas on "*sedition and blasphemy*" that the bishops and clergy used to pour forth on those occasions. You can see that every thing here is upon the change; every thing is upon the *work*, like wort in a tun-tub! Not only the cholera is softening the heart, but the universal cry throughout England for abolishing the tithes, is also producing its most salutary effect. I shall presently, in another part of this *Register*, insert an article from a very excellent newspaper called the *Brighton Guardian*, giving an account of a lecture delivered in the Isle of Wight upon the *necessity of abolishing tithes* in England. It was delivered on the 6th inst., on which very day I was, at nearly three hundred miles distant from the ISLE OF WIGHT, labouring in the same

righteous cause, at the town of Barnsley, in Yorkshire. So that, whether they pass the Reform Bill or not, here we are, all of a mind with regard to this most important matter. If I had my choice given me in the following question, "*Will you have the Reform Bill, and not an abolition of the tithe-system; or will you have an abolition of the tithe-system, and not the Reform Bill?*" I would answer without hesitation, Give me the latter, by all means. Judge you, then, of what importance I deem this matter, and judge you how delighted I must be to behold what is now passing in Ireland. Tell Mr. Clark that he may begin to make his preparations for coming back, for that the land in England will soon be as free as that in America.

Do, pray, look at my petition, presented the other day to the House of Commons, on the subject of *emigration*. I defy the history of the whole world, I defy a recital of all the freaks of all the madmen that ever lived, to produce anything equal, in point of folly; I defy all the nurseries in the world to produce any instance of childishness, equal to that which is recorded in the aforesaid petition! Here is a country, the farmers of which justly complain that there is not a sufficiency of labourers to get in the harvest in due season; and here is a Government, having a Board of Commissioners paid by the public, the business of which Commissioners is to contrive the means of sending the labouring people out of the country at the public expense, upon the alleged ground that they are too numerous! Need you wonder, then, at hearing that the country is in a state of misery and confusion!

You have heard and read a great deal about the FIRES; and, you know what a kind intention this Whig Government had towards me with regard to those fires. It is these fires which have, in fact, produced the whole of the apparently wonderful changes which have taken place within these fifteen months; and I will tell you how they began. Take the map of England, and you will see, in the north-eastern point of the county of Kent, a little circuit, called the ISLE OF THANET.

It is a spot of about ten miles in diameter, pretty nearly as flat as a pancake, and in the month of August, covered all over with beautiful crops of corn of all sorts, or with crops equally beautiful of turnips, clover, sainfoin, lucern, or some other herbaceous or root crop. Now, mind, while our wise Government has been proclaiming, in all sorts of ways, that the misery of the working people arose from their *excessive numbers*; while Ricardo and Brougham and the whole of the Scotch crew, have, in order to prevent taxes from being repealed, insisted that the misery of the working people arose, not from the weight of taxation, but from an over quantity of working people; while the Government, led by the nose by the impudent and ignorant Scotchmen, have been proclaiming, in all manner of ways, that the working people suffer only on account of their excessive numbers; while this has been dinned in the ears of the working people, they have seen, every year, thousands upon thousands of Irishmen, sent over by the base and cruel SQUIREARCHY of Ireland, to come here and wipe away the cream of the English labourers year, by doing the harvest work at *half-price*; and by sleeping and feeding like hogs. In the month of July, 1830, just after the harvest had begun in the ISLE OF THANET, several scores of these wretched slaves poured into the Island, and agreed to work at less than half-price, were lodged in barns by the farmers who agreed with them, and fed them upon potatoes. Instantly the English labourers received notice that they must work at the price of the Irish. Feeling the injustice of this, and having before them the proclamations of the Government, declaring that all their sufferings had arisen from their excessive numbers, and seeing no redress from any other quarter, they took the giving of the redress into their own hands. They armed themselves with what they called BATS; they went to the several barns, where the poor Irish fellows were *snuzzled* in among the litter and rubbish, roused them up, and told them, that they must *march out of the Island*. The poor Irish fellows remonstrated, but re-

monstrances were in vain. At last, it came to actual force; and though the attacked party had hooks and knives, these were of little avail against the *bats*, which are green sticks four or five feet long, the thickest end being about the size of your wrist, which is not a small one. The invaders were thus marched in bands to a bridge at one corner of the Island, on the Canterbury road, and were compelled to cross the bridge, with an injunction not to return into the Island on pain of the *bat*, of which several of them had just had a taste by way of warning.

The invaders being driven out, the "*Kentish boors*," as Dr. Black called them, returned to their work, and carried through the harvest completely, at the prices at which they began it. But, as is always the case, under similar circumstances, one victory points out the way to another. The same principle which pointed out the necessity of driving out the Irish invaders, pointed out the necessity of putting down *thrashing-machines*. Here also the proclamations of the Government applied; for, if the sufferings of the working people arose from their numbers being excessive *in proportion to the quantity of employment*, the thrashing-machines, which took away the labour from men, and *gave it to iron and to horses*, must be an evil which ought to be abated. Therefore, upon precisely the same ground that the Kentish men had expelled the Irish, they resolved upon expelling the thrashing-machines in the Isle of Thanet; and as these were inanimate substances, the breaking of them to pieces was the readiest means of expulsion. To this end the men assembled in large bodies, some carrying *bats*, and others sledge-hammers and crow-bars. Those farmers who were wise, at once consented to the breaking: those who were not wise, locked their machines up in barns, and applied for soldiers to defend their premises; and those premises, without, I believe, one single exception, in the eastern part of Kent, were set on fire; and the flails were once more heard in the barns. The labourers had now discovered that their *wages* also

might be raised. In the Isle of Thanet, they reared a *banner* or standard, on which was inscribed: "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES;" words as terrible to the present system of taxing and tithing, as were to King John and his satellites the words which the barons inscribed on their banner. The barons declared that the *laws* of England should not be changed; and the men of Kent declare that the *food* of England shall not be changed. "*Meat and bread, or fire.*" seemed to be the general resolution of the labourers in the east of Kent. In the greater part of the cases the employers gave way; they yielded to the dictates of self-preservation if not of justice. From the north-east corner of Kent, the demands of the labourers spread swiftly over the whole of that beautiful county, over Sussex, and then over Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and across into the important counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and into Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire. The last harvest has been comparatively little visited by invaders from Ireland, who have scarcely shown their faces in the southern counties; and, in Lincolnshire, where the invasion was considerable, *troops of horse soldiers were employed* to protect the poor creatures against the *bats* of the natives, who, as the newspapers told us, not only attacked the invaders in a most furious manner, but who, in one instance, proceeded to do that to them which they knew to be the most effectual way of preventing them from being instrumental in adding to the evils which the Government and Peter THIMBLE (who is their great guide in these matters) had ascribed to a "surplus population!" You will be glad to learn, that this was, however, a *newspaper lie*; and that Englishmen were incapable of such barbarity, though goaded on by provocation to a greater extent than human beings had ever before experienced. Notwithstanding the troops of horse, the invasion was, in fact, rendered useless to the farmers, who employed the invaders, who had to return back to their *Squires* with very little Lincolnshire money in their pockets;

with very little indeed purloined from the labourers in Lincolnshire. It is impossible that the invasion should not now be put an end to. You will participate with me in feelings of sorrow for the lot of these poor creatures from Ireland, who have no *poor-laws* to protect them; but you must also participate with me in the joy which I feel, that the labourers of England are better off than they were before. The Irish, thus penned up in their own island; thus prevented from coming to carry away the *cream* from the English labourer's milk-pan, will compel the landholders of that country to make just provision for them, so that they may not starve amidst that great abundance which has sprung up, and which is always springing up, in their own fertile country, and under the labour of their own hands. There is no question that this expulsion by the English labourers has had a great hand in producing that *resistance of the payment of tithes*, which is the first great step in the producing of measures (measures now actually proposed) which must legally put an end to the whole of this prodigious hierarchy, which is the main cause of the *Corn Bill*, and of numerous other evils that afflict the country. Manifold are the evils which have been produced by keeping the two countries in a state of half-hatred of one another; these evils will now cease; for, never will the English be prevailed on to think ill of the Irish, because they resist the payment of those tithes, which the English themselves are so impatient to be freed from.

The fires of which you have read, as having taken place in the last fall and this winter, are from the *lowering of wages*. The formidable attitude of the chopsticks, and the numerous fires blazing at the same time, induced the *farmers to promise to keep up the wages in future*, so that the working people might have meat and bread. In many instances the parsons agreed to lower their tithes in proportion to the rise in the wages of the chopsticks. But imagining, I suppose, that the terrible hangings and transportings had so terrified

the labourers as to make them again submit to a potato-diet, the farmers in many instances reduced the wages to a potato standard; and wherever new fires have blazed, this appears to have been the case. To talk therefore of *want of education* amongst the labourers, to talk of their having been *seduced by cheap publications*, argues a degree of ignorance equal to that which dictated a board of commissioners to get rid of the people at the very time when there were not enough of them to get in the harvest! Just as if cheap publications or dear publications were wanting to convince men that they were entitled to *some little portion* of the meat and of the bread, the whole of which had been produced by their own labours!

I have the pleasure to tell you, that the labourers in the east, and in the south, and in the west, are a great deal better off than they were in the year 1830; and that it is my opinion, that the thing will go on (Reform Bill or no Reform Bill) till they again have their due share of the produce of the land. It is curious to observe the many wonderful effects produced by that memorable strife, which, as I have stated, began in the Isle of Thanet. It is surprising how solicitous the land-holders have become to provide for the well-being of the labourers. Amongst other curious instances of this, is a *bill*, now actually before the House of Lords, for making *allotments of land to the chopsticks*; and thus *hushing* them into content. You have heard in England, and I dare say you hear your own wife now, singing to the children in the cradle:

Hushy, baby hunting!
Daddy's gone a hunting,
To get a little rabbit's-skin,
To wrap baby up in!

I never see any of these projects without thinking of this lullaby of the nursery. Ah! my good lords! it is not *that*, that the chopsticks want! They want to see the small farms that they formerly saw: they do not want to be set on to waste the marrow of their bones, to break up poor lands, and to make them good for the benefit

of the *parish*; that is to say, for *the benefit of the rich*: they want their due share of the produce of the *good lands*; and this scheme whenever it shall become talked of amongst them, will only make them see the more clearly that they do not possess that which they ought to possess. Here lies the *great difficulty* of the THING! By jails, by treadmills, by troops: by means of one sort and another, the THING could get over every other difficulty, as long as it remained at peace with other nations; for people assembled in masses of scores of thousands, the THING need not, and it does not, care a straw. As far as public opinion goes, while that is allowed to have any weight, great masses are formidable to the THING; but when we come to something beyond that, the great masses are nothing. The chopsticks are *every where*; without them there is no such thing as food, raiment, or property; against universal discontent and hatred in them there is no defence, and no protection. They are as prevalent as the air, and as darkness and light. There is this circumstance belonging to them, that they are actuated by no *caprices*; they are rendered discontented by no *imaginary wants*. In the language of Scripture, they say, "Give us food and raiment convenient for us." If they have these, no persuasion will urge them to deeds which bespeak discontent: if they have them not, in England, nothing will make them contented. How often, good God! have I warned the Government against proceeding upon the belief, that Englishmen would lie down and starve quietly! I warned the Duke of Wellington, upon his coming into office as prime minister, to adopt measures to prevent things from coming to that state in which the labourer should find himself reduced to the choice of *hanging or starving*; for that, if things were brought to that pitch, if the labourers once had the choice of hanging, or certainty of starving, Englishmen had shown, in all ages, that they preferred the former to the latter. And, we recollect well, that the newspapers told us, that the bands of chopsticks, going

to those who were at work in the fields, put this question to them: "Which do you choose, to be hanged, or to be starved to death?" The answer always was, "To be hanged." "Well, then, come along with us." Such and so strictly have my predictions been verified with regard to this matter.

However, I have, as I said before, the very great pleasure to tell you, that I now see reason to hope, that this great source of trouble is likely to come to an end; that the land-owners are convinced that the people of England are not to be reduced to potatoes; and that they are disposed to adopt measures of justice towards those, without whose hard labour their estates would not be worth a straw, while they themselves would be helpless and miserable creatures. Be assured, however, that all their attempts will fail, until the taxes be so reduced, as to make this government as *cheap* as that under which you have the happiness to live.

This letter contains a great deal of matter, very interesting to Englishmen who are in the United States; I therefore request you, if you can, to have it republished in some newspaper of New York; and if you cannot do that, to have a small edition of it published in a cheap pamphlet, by that excellently good man, Mr. DOYLE, of New York; and if he do not sell enough to cover the expenses and to pay himself for his trouble, I beg you to pay the balance on my account, and to add it to the amount of the corn. Ask Mr. DOYLE to get for me Ramsy's History of the American Revolutionary War: also the American Kalendar for the present year or the last year: also the newest edition of the American Tariff; and you will please to send them to me by the way of Liverpool; for, in this case, we have nothing to do with *Liverpool mariners*.

Upon looking over my letter I perceive that I have forgotten one thing, which it was my intention to mention to you. We have here a great political philosopher, whose name is THIMBLE, and who really is the great pivot upon which the present Ministry turns. His "*first name*," as the Scotch call it, is PETER.

This philosopher has lately put forth a sort of manual, to be the guide of his Majesty's profound Ministers. It would be tedious to describe to you, in detail, the contents of this very elaborate publication; but the substance I will state, because it will not only amuse you, but will enable you to judge of the minds of those of whom this SQUIRE THIMBLE is the guide. The Squire (of whom, by-the-by, you saw a good one in my comedy of the surplus population) says that which amounts to what is expressed in the following propositions:—

1. That the people of this country are, in their sexual propensities, like the stock upon a farm, taking for instance, the *swine*.
2. That, if left to themselves, they would increase in the same manner that swine would increase, if suffered (according to the American phrase) to remain *unaltered*; that the increase of their numbers would not be so rapid as the increase of swine, because the females have generally but one at a time, and that only once a year, while swine bring from seven to fourteen, and bring them twice in the year.
3. That, nevertheless, the increase of the people would be so great, that, in about five-and-twenty years, there would not be room for them *to stand upon the Island bolt upright*.
4. That the labourers in agriculture, who breed so fast and who rear up their young ones with so much care, and whose young ones are so strong and vigorous, are the present great source of danger to the country; and especially since they have taken it into their heads not to live upon potatoes and other refuse of the ground.
5. That, if they be suffered to feed upon meat and bread, there will be not a sufficiency of food for the nobility, gentry, clergy, lawyers and doctors, pensioners, sinecure-people, retired allowance-people, half-pay of army and navy, and soldiers, and fund-holders.

6. That, in other words, if the labourers in agriculture be suffered to increase, or even to exist in their present numbers, and be suffered to have wages sufficient to give them bread and meat, and good clothing, they will take so much money, that there will not be enough left to pay rents, tithes, and taxes, to support the *high* classes as they are now supported.
7. That, if these classes be not thus supported, the *tradesmen* in great and fashionable towns will be ruined; and that the journeymen will also suffer greatly.
8. That, therefore, something must be adopted by the Government to accomplish one of three things: *FIRST*, to compel the agricultural labourers to live upon potatoes, sea-weed, nettle-tops, and other herbage, such as is not good enough to keep a pig in good care; *SECOND*, to send a large part of the agricultural labourers out of the country; *THIRD*, to prevent the country women from having children, except now and then, as they may be wanted.
9. That, unless one of these three be adopted and enforced, the "*educated classes*" will be *wholly destroyed*, and the *kingly government must and will be overthrown*.

Now, let me beg of you not to *laugh* at this; not to set up a "ha! ha!" And let me beg that no long-faced Yankee will give his jaws a twist, and exclaim "pawssible!" as much as to say, that is an *English lie*. I most seriously assure you that it is true; and if I were in London, I would send you *PETER's* book, in which he maintains these propositions; and my belief is, that if anybody were to contradict him to his face upon the subject, he would either roast them with his goose, or stab them with his bodkin. "But," you will exclaim, "is it possible that this man is 'the planet around which the Ministers roll?'" He is, I tell you: and if I were to send up a petition to any one of them to present, they would consult *PETER* before they would present it.

You will ask what are *the means* that *Peter* proposes to make use of, in order to effect his purposes; that is to say, in order to make the labourers live upon bad pig-meat, to quit the country, or to cease to breed at such an intolerable rate as they do now? Why! with regard to the first, and also with regard to the second, *SQUIRE THIMBLE* does, in fact, give the thing up as hopeless. But, with regard to the breeding affair, *PETER* has written an "*INSTRUCTIVE TREATISE*," in which he lays down all the rules, in the most elaborate manner, and upon *medical* and *surgical* principles. Here, however, his public spirit has to contend against "*a want of education*," a thing which is deeply lamented by the whole tribe of Scotch philosophers. With the prostitutes and pickpockets and robbers, whether in high or low life; with these *Peter* and his disciples find it very pleasant work; but, alas! these are the *poor breeders*; so that here is very little effect produced. It is in the *country* where the *breeders are*; and here "*there is a want of education*;" so that here the beautiful doctrine of non-breeding is wholly thrown away.

In order to get over this difficulty, the Government have appointed a board of commissioners, for the purpose of affording advice and facility to working people, willing to go out of the country, at the head of which board is, I believe, the eldest son of our Prime Minister. The board confined itself, at first, to invitations to the *male sex*; but having been reminded by me, that sportsmen, in order to keep up a great breed of pheasants, always make a point of preserving the *hens*, they have now issued an invitation for *unmarried women* to go out of the country; and here they will find thousands ready to go; but not a single breeder amongst all the thousands! So that *PETER THIMBLE's* projects will certainly all be defeated: and the only effect that they have produced, or that they will produce, is that of exciting well-merited ridicule and contempt. Perhaps it is the first time in the history of the world, that a government has existed and gone

on, with the whole nation, labourers and all, laughing at its projects.

PETER THIMBLE is right enough, indeed, with regard to the effects of the labouring people getting proper wages. It must lessen rents, tithes, and taxes; it must drive tradesmen out of great and expensive towns; it must produce distress among hundreds of thousands of journeymen and servants: *it is producing all these effects now*. Every one indirectly dependent upon the taxes feels the effects of this augmentation of the ploughman's meal. If the change were *more sudden*, the distress in these devouring classes would be much greater than it now is. The big farmers and their families feel greatly the effect in this change of the situation of the labourers. A two or three hundred pounds is a good deal, as the yearly profits of a farm: a large part of these is now taken away by the labourers: a larger part will be taken away this year than there was taken away last year: a still larger part will be taken away the year after; and thus it will go on, till it will answer the purpose of no man to be the holder of five or six farms; in short the thing had gone on, till it became a question, whether the labourers of England would or would not live upon potatoes, and occasionally die by scores from starvation. This became a question; and this question having been settled in the negative, some one or more of the other great heads of expenditure *must give way*. We are now in a struggle for preserving the whole: the Government seems to have no notion of giving way. God send, that they may be convinced, *in time*, of the utter impossibility of upholding the whole system, and that, by yielding to that which common sense and necessity dictate, they may preserve the country in peace, restore to it its liberties and its prosperity, and make it worthy of you and all your family coming back to it, and ending your days in it: and thus I conclude this long and rambling, though, to you, I trust, not uninteresting letter.

I am always your most obliged

And faithful friend and servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MY PETITION ABOUT EMIGRATION.

IN the last *Register* was my petition, relative to the scarcity of labourers in Lincolnshire and in the East Riding of Yorkshire; and praying that *no more public money* might be expended on any of the Scotch projects for getting the labourers of England out of the country. My London papers did not meet me either at Sheffield or at Nottingham; so that I have not yet read an account of what took place at the presenting of my petition, which was sent from Nottingham on Monday, the 12th instant, and which was, it would seem, presented the very next day; and, let me take this opportunity of observing, that Mr. Alderman Wood did his duty upon this occasion, with a promptitude such as I have seldom witnessed in a similar case in any other Member of Parliament. I have long been acquainted with the Alderman; but, upon this occasion, I did not make use of that acquaintanceship for the purpose of having the petition presented; but merely said to him in these very words:—"Sir, as one of your constituents, I enclose you a petition, which I beg you to have the goodness to present to the House as soon as possible. I am, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant, Wm. Cobbett." I expected it to be presented very soon; but I was surprised, on arriving at Birmingham on Wednesday the 14th, at learning from THE SUN newspaper, that the petition had been presented. There was *no report* of what took place in Parliament. But I have been told that PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL (that sprightly gentleman) made an awkward attempt to be sarcastic, in which I am told he has since been joined in a publication by the hulky, empty-headed *fool-Liar*, who, not content with a former exhibition of his cowardice, is now anxious to perform over again his cryings for mercy! But Mr. HUMPHREY, I am told, observed, upon this petition, that *I was mistaken* with regard to the *expense of the board of Commissioners* and their proceedings; for that that commission and its pro-

ceedings were attended WITH NO EXPENSE TO THE PUBLIC. Mr. HUME ought to have hesitated before he made a positive assertion like this, tending to throw discredit upon the whole of a petition of so much interest to the country. As to the fact, it is Mr. HUME who is in error and not I. I am aware that the persons emigrating are to *pay for their own passage*; but I am also aware that the public furnishes the ships and everything necessary for the voyage, and I never yet knew any such undertaking on the part of the Government in which the public were not a loser. Besides, supposing the commissioners to have no salaries, have not the public to pay for the clerks and messengers and for the postage of letters innumerable? Mr. HUME may perhaps find it difficult to fish out these items of charge in the navy, the ordnance, and the colonial estimates; but Mr. HUME has at times complained bitterly of the *expenses* of PRINTING; and, before he so positively contradicted a fact stated in my petition, he ought to have ascertained, that the immense mass of printing caused to be done by this board of commissioners was *not paid for by the public*. I say that it has been and is paid for by the public; and upon this alone I had a right to pray, as I did, that the labourers of England might no longer be taxed for this at once insane and most mischievous purpose.

The truth is, that Mr. Hume is pretty sharply bitten with the philosophy of PETER THIMBLE, and the rest of those whose selfish insincerity, or whose folly, induces them to ascribe the suffering of the working people to a "*surplus population*;" and Mr. HUME has no objection to the squandering of a little of our money for the purpose of indulging himself in the furtherance of projects founded on this stupid whim. He is very scrupulous in *totting up* the items of expenditure on other matters; but here he will allow the Government to squander as much as they please. Their projects, if they could carry them into execution, would drive away Englishmen to make room for swarms in the

barren north; and, therefore, upon these projects the Government may squander. Mr. HUME may do what he pleases, but the projects *shall not succeed*!

But there was *another* part of the petition, on which, as far as I can learn, Mr. HUME said nothing; namely, my complaint, that while all these projects were on foot, for getting rid of the English *working* people, *millions* have, as I believe, been uselessly expended in the barren *Islands* of Scotland, for the express and *avowed* purpose OF PREVENTING THE SCOTCH FROM EMIGRATING! Was not this good ground of complaint for an Englishman who has paid a part of those millions? Let Mr. HUME move for an account of the sums expended by the commissioners for the carrying on of that affair; and I will bet Mr. Hume a hundred real sovereigns against a hundred pounds of Greek bonds, that is about a thousand to one, that the bare *printing* and the *plans*, relating to the Highland job; that these *papers alone*, have cost the English nation *more than the amount of three years' poor-rates for the county of Sussex*. Let Mr. HUME move for an account of this expenditure, that we may see how much the people of England have been robbed of by the means of this unparalleled job. *Twenty-nine years ago* I complained in my Register of this monstrous job. I have not the Register here, or I would look out the passage. I remember to have besought the late Mr. WINDHAM to protest against this rascally affair; and I pointed out to him that we were actually *adding to the national debt* (for *loans* were making at the time), in order to send English money into Scotland, for the purpose of causing people to be kept and bred upon mountains and heaths incapable of producing them food.

Now nothing can be more easy than for Mr. HUME to move for the Act of Parliament to be read, warranting the Highland project, then to move for an account of all the sums expended in virtue of that Act of Parliament! stating the several years during which the

expenditure took place, and distinctly describing the several items expended in each year; together with the Parliamentary votes on account of that project; and also for a copy of the report of the committee, on which report the Act of Parliament was founded. Let Mr. HUME decline to do this if he please; let him believe, if he please, *that we do not mean to have the money back again out of cunning proprietors of the Highlands*; but let him not, if he mean to go quietly through this life, endeavour to make appear to be false, truths stated in a petition by me; let him and PETER THIMBLE, and the poor bewildered creatures of the Government, have an antipathy as strong as they please to the plain good sense proceeding from my pen and tongue; let them if they please indulge the childish hope of making a Parliamentary Reform without materially changing this at once rickety and cruel system; but let them not again I say expect that impunity which has so long been experienced by those whose main business it has been to cajole and deceive the people,

I again thank Mr. Alderman Wood for his promptitude in complying with my request. This statement was due to the Alderman as well as to myself, it being necessary to show that the objections of the "*brace of brainless brothers*," and those of Mr. HUME in particular, were not well founded; and that every word in the petition, which he did me the honour to present, was founded in truth. When I get home, I will, if I can find them, send the Alderman some of the printed papers sent forth by the BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS. He will then see who it is who is paying for the expenses attending that board. But who pays, I should like to know, for the numerous advertisements which this board has put into the public papers! Upon other matters Mr. HUME would have traced to its source this sort of encouragement laudably given to literature! In short, the Alderman can, when he pleases, ascertain the truth of the facts which I have stated in my petition, which, on the part of the jobbers and

Scotch totters, it would have been much wiser to suffer to be received in silence.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. This, after all, is founded only on hearsay; only on what I have been told that the report contained. If I have not been correctly informed, that which I have said above, with regard to Mr. HUME, and also with regard to PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL, and even the FOOL-LIAR publisher, will, of course, pass for nothing.

THE FAST.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

As the various dissenting congregations in the metropolis will probably pursue different courses in reference to the approaching fast, and the motives of such as decline compliance with the Government order may be liable to misconstruction, the Minister and Deacons of the General Baptist Church, Worship-street, Finsbury-square, deem it right to state the reasons which have induced that Society to determine upon the "non-observance" of the fast.—First: Because this church, though fully purposing to include in their ordinary religious services a thankful reference to the continued favours of Divine Providence, and a dutiful resignation to the trials it appoints, yet consider that an object, innocent in itself, becomes objectionable when a compliance with it involves the recognition of human authority in matters of religion.—And, secondly: Because this church, however reluctant, as such, to enter into political considerations, cannot but regard the enjoining fast as originating with certain pretenders to evangelical superiority, who, by their inveterate opposition to national improvement, have helped to occasion the ignorance and consequent vice which they would now make the ground of national humiliation, and represent as a Divine judgment the misery and disease to which their own measures have mainly conducted.

MY PREDICTIONS AGAIN.

(From the same.)

WEST-END TRADES-PEOPLE.—We regret to hear that the tradesmen of the nobility in London complain very much of dulness of trade, and that several in situations where the rents are high have signified their intention of *throwing up their leases and quitting the country*, unless a great reduction be agreed to by the landlords. The person from whom we have this information has been enabled to ascertain the comparative receipts of 1828 and 1829, with those of 1830 and 1831, of more than fifteen of the leading tradesmen in Bond-street, Regent-street, and Oxford-street; and, according to his account, there is a falling off in the latter two years of *more than one-third*. This is attributed, partly to the prolonged discussion of the Reform Bill, and partly to the *absence of some of the first families*, who have taken up their residence in *cheaper spots* than the metropolis. It appears, indeed, that the scarcity of money, the difficulty of collecting it, even when persons have it to pay, and the *retrenchment of the upper classes*, were never so great. As a proof of the two latter, it is mentioned to us, that many of the nobility have paid only *half of the amount due for boxes at the Opera* for more than two years, and that those who do pay, among whom is the first lady in the realm, insist upon a *discount of five per cent.*—*Court Journal.*

PARSON-JUSTICES.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

A RETURN has lately been laid before Parliament (P.P. No. 39) of the Justices of the Peace who have qualified to act in the several counties in England and Wales, by which it appears that there are 5,371 justices qualified, of which number, 1,354 are clergymen, and 4,017 are laymen. The perusal of this abstract, which we annex, will, we are confident, lead to some curious, and perhaps serious reflections, which we may hereafter more particularly notice; at present we would only observe, that there is not *one* clergyman in the counties of

Derby and ~~Surrey~~, and yet we have never heard that any inconvenience had been found in either of these counties from the want of clergymen. The county of Derby has a population of 237,170, and there are 79 magistrates, or one to every 3,002 souls. The county of Sussex has a population of 272,328, and 189 magistrates, or one to every 1,441 souls. We presume that in both counties there are enough of justices. The county of Bucks has a population of 146,529, and 144 magistrates, of whom fifty-four (or nearly one-half) are clergymen; and there is thus in the proportion of one magistrate to every 1,000 souls! The zeal manifested in favour of the anti-reform candidate at the late general election in Bucks may be thus accounted for. In Cornwall, Herefordshire, Lincoln, Norfolk, Somerset, Brecon, Denbigh, Glamorgan, and other counties, it will be seen that *ONE-HALF* of the justices of the peace are clergymen; and we think some practical conclusions may be come to regarding the state of these counties as to crime, from an examination of the list; and it may be curious to notice the connexion between the clerical magistrates and anti-reform Lord Lieutenants. The attention of his Majesty's Ministers to this connexion may not be without its use, if they contemplate a reform in the magistracy; or if *they do not*, for those that shall come after them. It will be curious to hear what excuse there can be in Norfolk, for instance, for having seventy-eight clergymen, when that county is so thickly studded with resident gentry and men of character and fortune to do the duties of the magistracy. We notice Hereford county, with a population of 110,976, and 155 justices, of whom 58 are clergymen, *i. e.* there is one magistrate for every 718 souls in the county. This looks cathedral-like—part of the church-staff—and can any man say that such a number of magistrates in an agricultural county can be requisite? Whilst in Yorkshire, with a population of 1,371,296, and a large proportion of their manufacturers, there are only 414 magistrates, or one to every 3,312 souls. Will any man consider these inequalities,

and not say that the appointments to the magisterial bench must be, in many cases, made to suit parliamentary views, if nothing worse? We shall only call the serious attention of our readers to

the table, and we trust that each will make his own remarks.

It is to be observed that the magistrates of towns are not included in this list.

LIST OF MAGISTRATES OR JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN EACH COUNTY IN ENGLAND AND WALES WHO HAVE QUALIFIED, APPOINTED BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Names of the Counties.	Names of the present Lord Lieutenants.	Number.		
		Clergy	Lay.	Total.
Bedford	Lord Grantham	19	27	46
Berks	Earl of Abingdon	28	95	123
Bucks	Duke of Buckingham *	54	90	144
Cambridge	Earl of Hardwicke	23	28	51
Chester	Earl of Stamford	16	58	74
Cornwall	Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	36	54	90
Cumberland	Earl of Lonsdale	15	39	54
Derby	Duke of Devonshire	79	79
Devon	Earl of Fortescue	42	144	186
Dorset	Earl Digby	25	43	68
Durham	Marquis of Cleveland	23	59	82
Essex	Viscount Maynard	51	119	170
Gloucester	Duke of Beaufort, K.G.	49	127	176
Hants	Duke of Wellington	19	131	150
Hereford	Earl Somers	58	97	155
Hertford	Earl of Verulam	44	102	146
Huntingdon	Duke of Manchester	7	18	25
Kent	Marquis Camden, K. G.	2	145	147
Launcester	Earl of Derby	24	151	175
Leicester	Duke of Rutland, K.G.	17	27	44
Lincoln—Parts of Hol- land, Kesteven, and Ludley	Earl Brownlow	52	59	111
Middlesex	Duke of Portland	16	153	169
Monmouth	Duke of Beaufort	13	44	57
Norfolk	Hon. John Wodehouse	78	119	197
Northampton	Earl of Westmoreland	35	49	84
Northumberland	Duke of Northumberland	6	40	46
Nottingham	Duke of Newcastle	10	44	54
Oxford	Earl of Macclesfield	18	53	71
Rutland	Marquis of Exeter	3	6	9
Salop	Earl of Powis	38	106	144
Somerset	Marquis of Bath	53	97	150
Stafford	Earl Talbot	16	70	86
Suffolk	Duke of Grafton	58	98	156
Surrey	Lord Arden	39	215	254
Sussex	Earl of Egremont	189	189
Warwick	Earl of Warwick	24	42	66
Westmoreland	Earl of Lonsdale	12	18	30
Wilts	Marquis of Lansdowne	18	71	89
Worcester	Earl of Coventry	44	92	136
York—East, West, & North Ridings	Earl Carlisle, Earl Harewood, and Duke of Leeds	103	311	414
WALES.				
Anglesea	Marquis of Anglesea	7	14	21
Brecon	Duke of Beaufort	24	37	61
Cardigan	W. E. Powell, Esq.	11	53	64
Carmarthen	Lord Dynevor	9	75	84
Carmarvon	Lord Willoughby de Eresby . . .	14	17	31
Denbigh	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	24	41	65
Flint	Earl Grosvenor	15	26	41
Glamorgan	Marquis of Bute	18	36	54
Merioneth	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	9	14	23
Montgomery	Lord Clive	13	31	44
Pembroke	Sir John Owen, Bart.	10	35	45
Radnor	Lord Rodney	4	29	33
Total		1354	4017	5371

STANLEY'S IRISH TITHE BUDGET,

Laid before the House of Commons,
on Tuesday, the 13th of March.

(Plenty of time for remarks hereafter.)

Mr. STANLEY wished, in the first place, to express his deep regret that the course of conduct which he thought it his duty to pursue on this subject should have laid him open to an imputation, from any part of the House, of deceiving or entrapping the House into a hasty measure. His Majesty's Government felt it their bounden duty to go along with that which was the unanimous feeling of the whole of the committee that had been appointed to inquire into this subject. He was aware that very cogent and imperative circumstances alone ought to induce a Government to propose to the legislature any alteration of what was considered part of the law of property in the country; but he said that the papers on the table of the House fully disclosed the necessity of the measures to which his Majesty's Government was about to have recourse. It was in the month of November, 1830, that the first open and systematic resistance to the collection of tithe in Ireland manifested itself. Sir John Harvey, the Inspector-General of Police in the province of Leinster, whose evidence would be found in the report of the Committee, described the extent to which the combination against tithes speedily led in his district. He said he did not conceive there was any part of his district which he could state to be wholly free from that combination. Major Tandy said that a similar spirit prevailed in the county of Kildare. Mr. Fitzgerald declared that the resistance was spread over Tipperary, and the South of Ireland, and other witnesses described it as extending over Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and existing in a trifling degree in Kerry; while the noblemen and gentlemen who held the responsible situation of Lords Lieutenant of Counties gave the same information with respect, not to Catholic counties, but to the counties of Londonderry, Armagh,

and Donegal. The first duty of the Government, when this systematic and organised resistance commenced, was no doubt to use all the ordinary means which the law placed at their disposal to preserve peace and order, and to enforce the legal demands of the Clergy. And it would be found, by reference to the evidence, that all that could be done with this view had been effected. The present Government was not to be charged that these outrages were the work of their hands. The seeds of this violence and insubordination must have been—and it was well known that they were—deep rooted. This at least he could say, that, before he had the honour of holding the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, the first illegal notices and declarations against the payment of tithes were already in progress at the time of the present Government coming into office. Every protection which a large military force and the employment of the whole body of the police could afford was given for the recovery of the debts which were due, and the protection of property. He trusted to the indulgence of the House if he was compelled frequently, in the course of his address, to refer for his justification to that which could alone be his justification—namely, the evidence. Major Brown, who was first employed as a Sub-Inspector of Police in the county of Kilkenny, and had been much engaged in the affairs of the county, stated that a force of 350 men was employed under his orders for the purpose of protecting persons distraining cattle, for a period of two months, every day, sometimes twice a day; that he was out personally very frequently, and that the police during that time were indefatigable. And this was within three months after the systematic resistance to tithes first commenced. In that short period it had become necessary to have a numerous police and military body in operation to enforce a civil demand in two counties where the opposition had never before appeared. The mode of opposition which was adopted was such as it was extremely difficult to deal with. There were various modes, none of which were new—

for tithes were not a new grievance in Ireland; but the opposition had never before been carried to so wide, and therefore so dangerous an extent. Intimidation, violence, and outrage upon process-servers—combination against the seizure of cattle—combination against the purchase of cattle when sold—combination against offering any facility for the disposal of cattle—in short, every symptom manifested itself that was characteristic of an organised system adopted by the whole population acting as one man, in opposition to the payment of a legal due. So far was intimidation carried, that it not only became difficult to provide any persons, however necessitous their condition, who would expose themselves to the invidious and dangerous task of process-servers, but in many of the great towns in Ireland it was almost impossible to get an attorney to take a fee from a client, or to afford his legal assistance in recovering a legal due. This fact would really appear so incredible, that he felt it incumbent upon him to substantiate it by a reference to the evidence. Mr. Fitzgerald said that, supposing the other difficulties to which he alluded to be got over, the next would be to find an attorney to move the processes at the Quarter Sessions—that generally speaking, in his neighbourhood the attorneys were so intimidated, that they refused to move tithe processes—that one case had come within his own knowledge, of four magistrates on their way to attend their duties on the bench, who were mistaken, at the town of Thurles, for attorneys, and the mob told them not on any account to move tithe processes—that if they did they should never leave that part of the country alive: and here he wished to observe that intimidation in Ireland was a very different thing from intimidation in England. English gentlemen, who were so used to the protection of the law—who knew that in this country the law was paramount, and that the exceptions were the violations of the law—who saw the whole population embarked on the side of the law, and that there was no man who would not

consider it a credit to him to further the ends of justice, and to bring a delinquent to punishment—persons who witnessed all this could form no idea of the effect which was produced in Ireland by a mere anonymous notice, or a threatening placard, which would be disregarded in England, and treated as a piece of contemptible mockery; they could have no idea of the power which measures of intimidation and menace exercised in Ireland on the minds, not only of the lowest and most degraded of the people, but also of the higher and better orders. It would be acknowledged how much more easily in Ireland, with a scattered population, residing in miserable and easily-destroyed houses, apart from each other and remote from assistance, amongst numbers of persons short of work, and consequently ready for acts of violence, those threats could be carried into effect, against which the best police or the most vigilant government could not protect those who had exposed themselves to private malice which might be wreaked in nightly vengeance. And had not these intimidations been carried into practice? From the earliest times had we not heard of violence and outrage, particularly on this subject of tithes? Was there a year when the odious office of process-server did not subject individuals to popular violence and brutal outrage, sometimes even ending in bloodshed and murder? And this violence reacted upon itself in this way:—The exposure to danger and outrage which men thus incurred would have the effect, that the office would not be undertaken by any but the most desperate and abandoned characters, whose conduct, although it could not justify, would be such as almost to palliate, those outrages which might be committed upon them. But even supposing that no violence were committed, a tacit combination existed, that no seizures of cattle should be made if the law could possibly be evaded. Major Brown, in his evidence, showed the description of this opposition. He said, that the whole of the population were upon the watch, that signals were made

on the approach of the drivers and the police, and the cattle were carried off and placed under lock and key; and as the law did not permit doors to be broken open, not so many seizures were made as might be expected; that the cattle, when seized, were brought to the pound, and were invariably bought by the owner on the day of sale. He had already said that all the aid of military and police which the Government had at its disposal had been given, and he would now beg the attention of the House while he described what was the success of those measures. Sir John Harvey said, that, by employing an overwhelming force at the parish of Graigue for two months, he was enabled to collect about one-third of the arrear due; that by that period another half year had become due; so that not a tithe of the tithe of the clergy was collected, but only one-third of the tithe in one single parish. He stated this as proof of the first resolution he meant to propose, which was a resolution of fact, declaring the extensive system of organised opposition by which the powers of the law were rendered unavailing. He had heard a great deal said of the opposition being confined to particular parishes, and not extending beyond one or two dioceses. He was ready to admit that where violent resistance to the law had taken place did not exceed two, or, he believed, three districts. But the House would form a very erroneous estimate of the extent or effect of the combination if they confined it to those places where actual collisions had taken place, for they would find from the evidence that many of the clergy, under a deep sense of the impossibility of recovering their rights, and impressed with the awful responsibility to which, as men and as ministers, they would be exposing themselves, by calling upon the Government to resort to violent or strong measures to enforce their rights, had submitted to a total annihilation of their incomes, and were consequently reduced to the extremest distress and privation. He should not have felt it necessary to allude to this were it not that, in the discussion,

on a former night, it had been held that the clergy were not suffering that pressing and imperious distress which was represented. The Committee would therefore excuse him if he begged leave to substantiate his statement by two extracts from the evidence. Mr. Fitzgerald stated that Archdeacon Cotton and the Rev. Mr. Woodward had both positively declined pressing their claims—that Mr. Woodward said he could not conscientiously seek tithe that must be enforced with the probable effusion of blood. Being asked whether it was within his knowledge that many of the clergy are, in consequence of the opposition, reduced to great distress, he answered, “I know that they are in great destitution. Men who last year held an income of £800*l.* or 1000*l.* a-year, are this year in want of the necessities of life.” Sir John Harvey said, on the same point, that he had heard of some instances of two and three years’ tithe being due to the clergy. And what was to be implied by the destitution of their situation? It was not that they were obliged to deprive themselves of the luxuries or superfluities of life, to part with a carriage which they did not want, or a servant whom they could spare. Sir J. Harvey said, “A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted told me that he had just been sending a sheep and a few potatoes, and a small note, to a gentleman who was formerly in comparative affluence, and that he had neither a shilling nor a pound of meat in his house. And this testimony was supported and repeated by several who had no interest in misrepresenting the facts. Dr. Hamilton, as well as Sir John Harvey, described the clergy as being in a pitiable state of distress, and stated that he knew two in absolute want. The Rev. Mr. Barrett wrote that there were three years’ tithes due to him, and no person would undertake to execute a decree. But he would more particularly refer to the letter of the Rev. Mr. Moore to Sir William Gosset, dated 7th of January, 1832. This was not one of those pampered clergymen who were so much cried out against for indulging in the luxuries and superflui-

ties of life. He was an unhappy gentleman living, or rather starving, in a remote district upon an income of 70*l.* or 80*l.* a-year. And what was his account? He said, "Three years have elapsed since the appointment to my present curacy took place; for the first year my salary was punctually paid, but for the last two years I may say it has ceased. Although my rector is most anxious to pay me my small pittance, yet, from the continued reluctance and increased resistance to pay tithe, he has not the means. It is true I could apply to my diocesan, but he can give me no redress; for even if the parish were sequestered, I should be unable to collect the tithe. But why should I be so devoid of feeling as to worry and harass an unfortunate gentleman, situated as he is, having a family consisting of a wife and seven children to support, for which he can with difficulty procure food and raiment, although at this moment upwards of 1400*l.* are due by his parishioners. In the mean time I would respectfully inquire what am I to do? In another month two years' salary will be due, and in less than another month I shall be obliged to make up the sum of 100*l.* Small as my salary (70*l.* per annum) is, still to a man having a family and small establishment to support, as well as to try to support an appearance with those in my own rank, it must be very distressing to want that trifle such a length of time." Gentlemen might say that the clergy were sufficiently paid, and that the savings of one year ought to compensate for the losses of another. But his answer was, Suppose a clergyman to be a conscientious man, and from a notion of duty to consider himself bound to save no part of his income, but to spend all that he derived from his tithes in his parish, was he to be told that that was an argument for leaving him alone, without rendering him any assistance to recover his just claims? These were the facts upon which he proposed to move the first of a series of resolutions, which, although for the sake of clearness he would state it separately, he yet wished it to be taken as part of a set of measures upon

which conjointly his Majesty's Government was inclined to act, and which conjointly they submitted for the consideration of Parliament. The first resolution which he proposed to found upon the facts which he had stated was—

"That it appears to the committee, that in several parts of Ireland, an organised and systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, by which the law is rendered unavailing, and many clergymen of the Established Church are reduced to great pecuniary distress."

These were the facts upon which he proposed to found the course which his Majesty's Government was about to adopt: and the first question was, What course was it their duty to pursue, not less with a view to do justice to the individual clergyman who was suffering under the distress produced by the resistance to tithes than to uphold the law, and prevent its being rendered systematically unavailing? He believed there was no man, at least he hoped he might venture to say there were few, who would hesitate to say that, under such circumstances, a body of men holding the situation occupied by the clergy were entitled to every assistance and relief that could be afforded them by Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Even those who most objected to the course which his Majesty's Government was about to pursue, did not pretend to say that they ought not to use every means in their power to relieve the clergy. But he said in answer, How, or on what principle, were they to relieve them? Was the House prepared to say that, because there was a systematic opposition to a legal due, by which the clergy were deprived of their income, the country was to step forward and make good the losses—that the public purse was to be drawn upon for relief, and no ulterior steps should be taken? He said that this would be an injustice, not to the clergy, but to the country. It would be a premium upon disaffection. (Hear, hear.) It would be a bribe to violate the law, a temptation to turbulent conduct, and a condemnation, strong as language could pronounce, of those who submitted to the payment of tithes,

without the interposition of the strong powers of the law. (Hear, hear.) Was this the encouragement which the House was prepared to hold forth? Was it the pleasure of the House to say, that because the province of Leinster was disturbed, while Connaught was tranquil, while Ulster was tranquil, whilst Munster was tranquil, while all England was obedient to the law, and Leinster alone had revolted—he could use no phrase less strong than revolted—against the law, that for that reason they were to take money out of the public purse, for the purpose of putting into the pockets of those very persons by whose misconduct the loss had been occasioned? Was the House prepared to say, that it would pay men for resisting the law, and that, while peaceable men had no remedy for their losses, turbulent and violent persons should receive instantaneous relief? He did not think that the people of Ireland, of tranquil Ireland, were prepared to hold out such an opinion. But if they were to relieve the clergy, who were reduced to this distress by no fault of their own (cheers from the opposition benches), he wished here to make a distinction. He knew he had been asked, in opposition to relieving the clergy at all, what he would do if there were a general resistance to the payment of landlords' rents? Now he could conceive a case where, if the whole population of a district rose up in arms, and refused to pay rents, it would be the duty of the legislature to say, "We will relieve the landlords, and enforce the authority of the law." But he granted that, if by local grievances, by exorbitant rents, and oppressive proceedings, the landlords had driven the population to acts of outrage and violence, the landlords would then have no case to come before Parliament (cheers), or if they did come they would be spurned and scouted from the doors of that house. But was this applicable to the clergy of Ireland? (Cheers.) Was it they who fixed the amount which they were to receive? Did they impose an exorbitant sum on the occupier of the land? Were they

even charged, did any man venture to charge them, with having demanded more than the law assigned them? (Cheers from the Opposition.) He knew not whether he was to interpret those cheers as an intimation that the clergy were liable to the charge (renewed cheers from the Opposition); but this he knew, that his hon. friend the member for Armagh, in moving his resolution on a former night, had distinctly stated that the clergy were not to blame. Every passage in the evidence which would be before those hon. Gentlemen who so loudly cheered showed that the clergy, as a body, never were exorbitant in their demands. If the inquiry were pushed to its utmost extent, the conclusion which it would suggest, as to the burden upon the occupier of the soil, would not be very unfavourable to the clergy in comparison with any other body. He stated, without fear of contradiction, that whereas in England it was notorious that the tithe amounted to one-fifth part of the rent, and the rent was fairly calculated at one-fifth of the produce, from all the evidence, and from the tables which would be found in the papers, and figures which could not be mistaken, in Ireland, the calculation was, that the tenant had a fair interest in the land, not only if he was charged with all repairs, all buildings, and all improvements, but if the landlord did not wring from him more than one-third or two-fifths of the produce; and he appealed to the papers whether he was not correct in stating that, so far from the tithes amounting to one-twelfth of the gross produce, the value of the tithe which was even professed to be collected—setting aside bad debts and arrears which were never paid—did not amount, he would not say to one-tenth of the produce, but even to one-tenth or one-fifteenth; and he believed, in the whole of Ireland, not to one-twentieth part of the rent. (Hear, hear.) He asked them upon what ground a charge could be made against the clergy—in the teeth of evidence and facts—of being exorbitant in their demands. He returned, then, to the proposition which he had

been proceeding to consider. In what manner was it expedient that the sum due to the clergy should be levied? To him it appeared consonant with all rational ideas of justice and good government that the sum, if levied, should be levied from those who ought to have paid it without any legislative interference. Well, then, what was the course which his Majesty's Government proposed to pursue, and which had been already pursued in similar cases (for similar cases had arisen upon former occasions)? He begged the House to look at the peculiar nature of the resistance in this case. There were precedents in 1786, 1787, 1799, and 1800, and on those occasions—although he did not mean to say that they were alike in all their circumstances—God forbid that he should say the cases were parallel!—but owing to the disturbed state of various parts of Ireland, the clergy were, from the combinations which were entered into, unable to assert or vindicate their claims. The opposition was to the previous proceedings, and there was this peculiarity in the case of tithes—that a clergyman had occasion to collect from a number of persons making small payments, and was consequently placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty by the expense and delay to which a combination to resist payment exposed him. It was with reference to the previous proceedings that former legislative measures had reference; and it was in that way that his Majesty's Government proposed now to legislate in the bill which would be brought in, if the committee agreed to these resolutions. On former occasions it had been left to the clergy to dispense with the notice which, according to the ordinary forms of law, it was necessary to serve upon every parishioner, and in serving which almost all the scenes of violence, outrage, and bloodshed occurred. Those measures rendered a notice exhibited in some conspicuous place in the parish a sufficient intimation, on the part of the clergyman, of his intention to enforce his claims. This was the case on former occasions, and to this extent the plan

which he should propose on the present occasion was the same. But then he might be told that they were using coercive means, and arming the Government with a dangerous authority, by taking from the clergymen the remedy which he ought to possess, and placing it in the hands of a powerful body—the State itself. He must observe here that the charges of extraordinary severity, and of enforcing the payment of tithes at the point of the bayonet, and all such violent language, was totally inapplicable to the measures proposed by his Majesty's Government, and only tended to prejudice the House and the country unjustly against them. (Hear.) He said that, if it was right to enforce the payment of tithes at all, the course proposed by his Majesty's Government, while it would be effective was the most lenient, the most indulgent, and the most mild towards those who were to be subjected to its operation. They proposed to advance to the clergyman a sum of money, forming a very small proportion of his demands of arrears for a year, in consideration of receiving which he should surrender all his claims against his parishioners individually, and place the assertion of his rights in the hands of the Government. In this he deviated from the course pursued formerly, and he thought he should find no difficulty in vindicating that deviation by this view of the case—that in former instances extraordinary encouragements and means were given to those who suffered from the combinations to visit their own wrongs upon those from whom they had sustained them. The present was, in his judgment, a more lenient and a more equitable plan. He would trust nothing—he would not say to private revenge, but to private irritation, or feelings of retaliation or prejudice, but would leave in the disinterested and indifferent hands of Government the enforcing such portion of the arrears as they judged could be recovered from solvent tenants, without pressing upon the laborious, industrious, and oppressed classes of the people. The Government felt that they might, perhaps, be enabled

to do away with the litigation between the clergyman and his parishioners, by placing itself in the condition in which the former now stood, and by taking such steps for the recovery of his arrears as he was unable to take himself; at the same time allowing the two parties to come at once to the point at issue with the same evidence, in precisely the same form, and before the same Court in which their disputes were adjudicated; and when it was proposed only to recover the one year's arrears of tithes, the Government by no means meant to debar the clergy from recovering their anterior arrears. He must, therefore, claim for Government the simple tribute which justice demanded to be awarded to their intentions, and assert that it was impossible for any measure—if the law was to be vindicated, and if the House should deem it necessary to put down the resistance which was made to the exercise of just rights—he would repeat, it was impossible to devise a plan that could be more lenient towards the refractory tenants, or be less open to the opposition which had been offered to it, before even it was known, than that measure which the Government was about to adopt, and which had—he must say somewhat prematurely—been stigmatised as an attempt on their part to cram the tithe system down the throats of the Irish, at the point of the bayonet. (Hear.) It was not the principle of the present Administration to ask for extraordinary powers, although they had been urged to do so by those very persons who now wished to use that desire as an argument against them; but he felt that the Members of the Administration would be unworthy the name of Government, if they were to suffer to continue any longer the systematic refusal to pay tithes which was at present adopted, and adopted too by people who were well able to pay them. He asserted, therefore, that if the Government were to sit down quietly under the present resistance—to allow the law to be violated with impunity, and to suffer themselves to be told, and told truly, that such a violation of the law resulted from their apathetic conduct, he felt that he could

no longer continue to form one of such an Administration. God forbid that such an Administration should continue to occupy their places, or to have the control of the affairs of the country! He had felt it therefore necessary to say this much in vindication of the Government, and also in proof of the fact, that the measures which they were about to adopt were not, as was asserted, measures calculated to stir up further dissension, and to provoke a civil war in Ireland. The next resolution which he had to offer, was

“That it is in the opinion of the committee expedient, in order to afford relief to the suffering clergy in Ireland, that a sum of money be issued out of the Consolidated Fund, and placed at the disposition of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, under the advice of his Privy Council, should be authorised to issue such relief as may be judged necessary to the incumbents of benefices, of which the tithes have been withheld, the sum of money advanced to each being so administered, as to diminish in proportion as the income of each incumbent increased.”

The reason why the sum to be advanced to each incumbent was to diminish in proportion as his income increased, was, that though all were, to a certain extent, in great distress, yet the distress was much more severe on those clergymen whose tithes did not amount to any considerable sums, than on those whose incomes were nominally larger; and, therefore, it was felt that their case was more severe than the others. In return for this assistance, and as a security for its repayment, the Government intended to propose that his Majesty should be authorised by those clergymen, who accepted such assistance, to levy and enforce the arrears of tithes which were due for the year 1831, without any reference to arrears of tithe for a period antecedent to that year, which the acceptance of this assistance did not debar the clergy from recovering themselves; and that on the recovery by the King of the arrears for 1831, the sums advanced on them should first be repaid, and the balance which remained paid over to the legal owners. He had now gone through the series of resolutions which it was his intention to submit to the committee

for their approbation, but he felt bound to say, that he should have felt extremely reluctant to press them on the House, without, at the same time, giving a pledge of the intentions of Government that an alteration should take place in the existing tithe system of Ireland. He knew how strongly the feelings of the Irish were excited on this subject, and he knew also that the appointment of the committee up-stairs had occasioned the disturbances with regard to tithes to subside for some time, and that it had also tended to retard and to put off the collisions which were expected to have occurred in Ireland. He must also in candour acknowledge that Ireland would have been very justly disappointed if, whilst the resolutions which he had proposed were to be adopted, no relief was to be afforded her—and if also there was no intimation on the part of Government of an intention to effect some change in the system, under the evils of which she at present laboured. His own view of the matter was, that the present tithe system of Ireland, inasmuch as it had ever required extraordinary measures to enforce its endurance, was radically wrong: and if he looked back through the series of centuries which had elapsed since that system was forced on Ireland, he found it had ever proved the fertile source of litigation and of turmoil, and throughout the whole records of her history he found a constant succession of laws which were framed for the purpose of quelling those disturbances, and of punishing the refractory tenantry; he wished he could say he found as many laws for bettering their condition, or for affording them relief. (Hear, hear.) He averred, therefore, that it was, in his opinion, not the amount of the tithe which was the source of the grievance; it was not because the tithe was 2s., or, as he believed, 1s. 3d. an acre, that the tenantry complained; but it was the system by which it was enforced which formed the real grievance, and that which was most complained of by all parties in Ireland. He would not stay to inquire whether the tithes were paid by the tenant, the landlord, or the consumer, but he would

go at once to the real complaint of the tenantry, which was, that the amount levied for tithe was ostensibly an extra charge on their earnings, which they were called upon to pay to a person from whom they received nothing whatever in return. He had no doubt himself that, whilst so great a demand existed for land in Ireland, and whilst the tenantry there were so eager to enter into covenants to pay landlords sums which they afterwards found themselves unable to raise, the removal of tithes would only give the landlord additional facilities for exacting additional and exorbitant rents. He said also, that the great grievance of which the tenantry complained was, that they were forced to pay these tithes to the ministers of a religion in which they did not believe, and which they were taught to decry; and he felt that such a complaint was well-grounded; for though the demand for tithe was one which was strictly legal, and one which the tenant was bound to pay, and under other circumstances would most probably pay readily; yet as the money was paid by him at once to the Protestant clergyman, the objection was, in a religious point of view, the same, whether the sum demanded was three-pence or three shillings an acre. But so far from the grievance consisting in the oppressive weight of the amount levied for tithes, the fact was entirely the other way, for it actually consisted in the smallness of the tithe which each tenant had to pay. It was in evidence on the report, that if the charge for tithe was two shillings an acre, it would be an obvious one, and one too which would not be likely to be lost sight of in bargaining for a lease of eighty or a hundred acres; but the tithe was so small, that when the landlord and the tenant agreed about the terms of the lease, it was not thought worth while to make any stipulation as to who should pay it; at the same time, that though this demand on the small holder was so small as to be unworthy of consideration individually, yet taken aggregately, it was a matter of serious consideration to the clergyman, whose income is made up of such small dues, and it

often proved to be a source of grievance to the person who had to pay it, in consequence of its being divided amongst several persons. It was in evidence on the report of the committee that such was the fact; for with a view to show how this matter stood, the committee had added to the appendix of the report a paper, by which it appeared (having taken the two last parishes in each diocese where the Tithe Composition Act had been carried into effect for the purpose of obtaining a fair average) that there were in those parishes 12,884 persons who were called upon to pay 11,300*l.* in tithes, or in round numbers about 11,000*l.* from 13,000 persons, and these sums were not levied at one payment and by one person, but they were demanded by the vicar and the rector, and at two different periods of the year by each. The evidence in the report also stated that there were many instances where tithes were due for which there were seven or eight claimants on the tenant, and that the subdivision was carried to such a minute extent, that demands on which expenses might be incurred, and on which the tenantry might actually be served with processes, and carried into court, amounted in some cases to no more than three farthings—(hear, hear)—on the half year's tithes. It ought to be recollected also, before the clergy of Ireland were charged with extortion and oppression, and before any comparison was instituted between them and the clergy of England, that their situation and prospects were widely altered, and they ought also to recollect that England was freed from what he considered to be the curse of Ireland, the minute subdivision of land which existed there. In many parishes in Ireland the clergy would receive no tithes at all were it not for the potato gardens, and this was chiefly in consequence of the breaking up of the land in that country into such minute subdivisions. Independent, therefore, of the grievances of which the tenantry of Ireland complained, not only in a religious point of view, but also in consequence of those tithes being exacted by so many claimants, he felt

himself perfectly safe when he conceived that this change was desired by the clergy of Ireland themselves. They felt that the present system was constantly bringing them into personal collision with their parishioners, and that such a condition was not one which ought to exist between a clergyman and his flock, even although the latter might not be of his religious tenets. They felt then, for the sake of their own as well as of others' welfare, that some change was necessary; and it was in evidence that they had expressed an eager desire to catch at any change by which they would secure a respectable maintenance, and by which they would be enabled to discharge those duties which appertained, not so much to their clerical characters as to their situation in their respective parishes—namely, that of gentlemen resident cultivators of the land, in which character alone they would be enabled to effect a great deal of good amongst their surrounding parishioners. If only on this ground alone, a change of the system would do much good; for, divested of his character as a tithe exacter from the tenantry around him, they would look up to him for benefits by which he would become endeared to his parishioners, and in which character he would effect more good than under the existing laws he could ever hope to do. He therefore thought it highly necessary to hold out hopes to the people of Ireland that some plan would be proposed by which the clergy would receive some permanent remuneration; at the same time it must be distinctly understood that, whatever amount of remuneration might be awarded to them, and in whatever form it was made, it would come from the land. They might certainly be led to expect that it would be shifted from the tenant to the landlord; but it would most probably ultimately, owing to the competition, come to be settled in certain proportions between the landlord and tenant. He therefore could not at present hope to see any permanent alterations in the system carried into effect; but he could only, in conformity to his duty, point out to the attention of Par-

liament the necessity which existed for examining the subject with a view to future legislation, without venturing to suggest any plans for their adoption. He had omitted, in the course of his remarks, to refer to one branch of the subject of very considerable importance. It was obvious to all who considered the effect which the present system of tithes had upon agriculture, that its very essence was the imposition of a tax, not simply upon the land, but upon the successful application of capital, industry, and intelligence, in its cultivation; and this operated greatly to discourage all attempts at improvement in agriculture. To change this must be their first object; and towards this the Tithe Composition Act had certainly gone some way, though by no means to the extent which was necessary. He would say it might be effected by a general commutation of land for the clergyman's tithes; or then, however the surrounding land might improve, he would have no share in those improvements, nor could his demand of tithes operate as a check upon the cultivator's skill or industry, at the same time that it would tend to raise his own revenues by increasing the value of his own land. He therefore, without pursuing this subject further, simply submitted the resolutions which he had proposed to the House, as forming a whole series to which he desired the assent of Parliament, and upon which they would proceed to legislate. They were called upon to read Ireland a lesson of which she stood too much in need—namely, that she might much more safely look for the justice and the kindness of England, than hope to extort anything from her fears, or by any attempts at intimidation. They ought to be told that what would be denied to their threats would be granted to their intreaties; that an attentive ear would be given to their complaints, which would be shut against their denunciations; and that England would ever be found as ready to afford them succour as they were to demand it. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

“Die Jovis, 8^o Martii, 1832.

“That it appears to this House that in several parts of Ireland an organised and systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, by which the law has been rendered unavailing; and many of the clergymen of the established church have been reduced to great pecuniary distress.

“That, in order to afford relief to this distress, it is expedient that his Majesty should be empowered, upon application to the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to direct that there be issued from the Consolidated Fund such sums as may be required for this purpose.

“That the sums so issued shall be distributed by the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, in advances proportioned to the incomes of the incumbents of benefices, wherein the tithes or tithe-composition lawfully due may have been withheld, according to a scale diminishing as the incomes of such incumbents increase.

“That for the more effectual vindication of the authority of the law, and as a security for the repayment of the sums so to be advanced, his Majesty be empowered to levy, under the authority of an Act to be passed for the purpose, the amount of arrears for the tithes or tithe-composition of the whole or any part of the year 1831, without prejudice to the claims of the clergy for any arrear which may be due for a longer period; reserving, in the first instance, the amount of such advances, and paying over the remaining balance to the legal claimants.

“That it is the opinion of this House that, with a view to secure both the interests of the church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of system will be required: and that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those belonging to lay impropiators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for or investment in land.”

TWO-PENNY TRASH will be published next Saturday. It will be addressed to the people of **PRESTON** in one part, and to the people of **LEEDS** in another part; and it will contain, 1. Instruction for raising the **CORN**, and for raising **MANGEL-WURZEL**. 2. An account of **THE LIAR'S** curious works in Hampshire about the corn. 3. A statement of the circumstances, explanatory of his calling **MITCHELL A SPY**, and of his accusing **SMITHSON** of **ROASTING THE BIBLE**. I have now made personal and particular inquiry into the whole of this matter.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,
No. 11, BOLT COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound.
For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and

under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain met-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round*

dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice,

and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.		
	£.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

THORNTON, R., Horsham, Sussex, common-brewer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

JOHNSON, H., Oaklands and Midhurst, Sussex, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNETT, S., Conduit-st., Bond-st., mercer.
BODMAN, W., and J. Carwardine, Bristol, soap-manufacturers.

COPE, P., West Bromwich, Staffords., chemist.
CRISP, W., Bath, innkeeper.

DEPREE, G. J., Savoy-wharf, Strand, paviour.

EDMANDS, J., Strand, cheesemonger.

FISHER, J., Regent-st., Marybonne, hatter.

GOATER, J., High Holborn, victualler.

LOUD, J., Hooper-street, Westminster-road, licensed victualler.

REYNOLDS, J., Union-street, New Hoxton, coal-dealer.

SALT, T., Birmingham, livery-stable-keeper.

TAYLOR, J., Nottingham, boot-maker.

WOODFIELD, T., White-street, Moorfields, horse-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DOW, J., Glasgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

LEACH, C., New Manor-st., Chelsea, baker.

BANKRUPTS.

ABBOTT, J., Elliott's-row, St. George's-road, bookseller.
 BISHOP, J., Whittlebury-street, Euston-sq., carpenter.
 BRADLEY, G., Stockport, Cheshire, innkeeper.
 CURNIN, T., Birmingham, victualler.
 DRACKLEY, T. jun., Thornton, Leicester-shire, farmer.
 EVANS, W., Carmarthen, draper.
 FISHER, F. jun. & W.J., Bristol, sail-makers.
 HARRISON, H., Liverpool and Manchester, commission-agent.
 JOHNSON, J., Norwich, glass-merchant.
 JONES, S. W., Usk, Monmouthshire, draper.
 KEYTE, S., Minories, oilman.
 PURNELL, O., Gloucester, currier.
 TUCKEY, E., Birmingham, victualler.
 WILSON, S., Chich St. Osyth, Essex, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITKEN, G. and W., Gorbals of Glasgow, cotton-spinners
 GREENSHIELDS, S., Glasgow, merchant.
 LOW and Readdie, Pomarium, Perth, wrights.
 OSWALD, C. jun., Perth, upholsterer.
 SWAN, J., writer to the syguet, dairyman or cow-feeder, at Meadowbank, and under-writer, Edinburgh.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 19.
 Supplies since this day se'nnight have been good, as it respects English, Irish, and Scotch wheat, English and Scotch barley, Scotch malt, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, English beans, and English, Irish, and Scotch flour, and English malt; of English and foreign wheat and oats, as also peas and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.—Of foreign flour, beans, peas, barley, or rye, from any quarter, there have been none.

This day's market was rather thinly attended, both by London and country buyers; but as the sellers were unwilling to submit to abatements—under the impression, it was supposed, that the absence of a market on Wednesday, on account of the general fast, would increase the demand of some of those who were present—the trade, as to each kind of corn, as also malt, seeds, and flour, was exceedingly dull at last week's prices. Indeed it was the pretty general opinion, about noon, that where extensive sales could be effected, an abatement of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter would be submitted to on most kinds of grain. However, we cannot alter our last Monday's quotations.

Wheat 58s. to 66s.
 Rye —s. to —s.
 Barley 24s. to 33s.

— fine 35s. to 41s.
 Peas, White 35s. to 39s.
 — Boilers 38s. to 44s.
 — Grey 33s. to 37s.
 Beans, Old 34s. to 36s.
 — Tick 33s. to 37s.
 Oats, Potatoe 24s. to 27s.
 — Poland 22s. to 25s.
 — Feed 18s. to 23s.
 Flour, per sack 55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 46s. to 50s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new... 48s. to 50s.
 Pork, India, new.... 127s. 0d. to 130s.
 Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast 84s. to 88s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 84s. to 94s.
 — Cork 88s. to 90s.
 — Limerick .. 88s. to 90s.
 — Waterford.. 80s. to 86s.
 — Dublin 76s. to 78s.
 Cheese, Cheshire.... 56s. to 76s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 64s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 48s. to 54s.
 — Edam 48s. to 54s.
 — Gouda 48s. to 52s.
 Hams, Irish..... 58s. to 65s.

SMITHFIELD.—March 19.

This day's supply of beasts was good; of sheep, lambs, calves, and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout very dull; with prime small mutton at an advance, in some few instances, of 2d. per stone; but with mutton, generally, as also beef, lamb, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,800; sheep and lambs, 17,300; calves, 100; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 23.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	83½	83½	83½	83½	—	83½

CHOLERA MORBUS FOR THE PARSONS! PILLS FOR THE PRIESTS!! BOLUSES FOR THE BISHOPS!!!

1. This Day is published, price 3d. each, Nos. I. and II. of the

POOR MAN'S BOOK OF THE CHURCH.
 (Not by Doctor Southey.)

"This is a very clever little publication, and contains a greater variety of well-digested and interesting matter than many other works

of greater bulk and price: we cordially recommend it to the support of ALL interested in the abolition of tithes and the reform of the church. It is illustrated with very spirited engravings."—*Morning Advertiser*.

2. A "DOUBLE KNOCK" AT THE PORTALS OF
EPI-COPAL SAINTS AND CLERICAL SINNERS.

Twelve closely-printed columns, quarto, with
Caricatures, for One Penny! every Friday.

A SLAP AT THE CHURCH!

. The Bishop of London has written a letter to the publisher of "A Slap at the Church," from which the following extract is made:—"I have sufficiently warned you; and if, after this, you continue to vend the mischievous and horrible publication I have mentioned above, depend upon it you will be speedily visited with the punishment you merit."

Its contemporaries speak of it thus:—

"A SLAP AT THE CHURCH!—The artillery of the press has long been too heavy for that crumbling, toppling, thousand-fissured structure, the ponderous national church, and here is another gun brought to bear against it, which will fire ten thousand balls a week in at its windows and doors."—*Ballot*.

"An infamous publication: it is disgraceful to the metropolis."—*Courier*.

London: W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row; Cowie, 312, Strand; Watson, 33, Windmill-street, Finsbury; Hetherington, 13, Kingsgate-street; Gorway, 11, Crown-street; Purkiss, Wardour-street, Soho; and all Booksellers.

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. III., for April, Price 1s. 6d., will be published on Monday, April 2d.

Edited by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; (to whom all communications are requested to be addressed).

Sold by W. F. Wakeman, 9, D'Olier-street, Dublin; Smith, and G. and J. Robinson, Liverpool; Lewis, and James and Joseph Thomson, Manchester; Butterworth, Birmingham; Baines and Co., Leeds; Davey and Muskett, Bristol; Timms, Bath; Brooke, Dewsbury; Welton, Egham; Bacon and Co., Norwich; Thurnam, Carlisle; and all Booksellers.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS; a New Agricultural and Trading NEWS-PAPER, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs and Markets to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; Quantity on hand, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of all men of business throughout the Empire.

N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns, and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Cornfactors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers, Newsmen, and Clerks of the Roads, throughout the Empire.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley	l. s. d.
Colours.....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12 0
Figured Silk ditto.....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Barogan ditto.....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4 0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.